1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

they had nothing to say about where they were going to live, and they had little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That women were far from indifferent to this state of affairs may be judged by the manner in which they took advantage of an approved form of social singing to voice numerous complaints.[11] A newly married woman felt and acted like a stranger in her husband's household. She was expected not to plunge at once into the group's domestic affairs, and for several months she would sit facing the wall, without looking her housemates, other than her husband, directly in the face. Above all, she had to show great respect for her husband's father. To this day a woman is expected to show marked deference to adults of the other sex, particularly to her husband and father-in-law. Still, on two widely separated occasions I noted that men would not take it on themselves to sell objects belonging to their wives. When sales were made these women set the price and kept the money.

Not only did a bride have to make numerous adjustments to the men in her spouse's natal household, but she also had to learn to live harmoniously with the other women who had married into the same household. Particularly significant in this regard was the attitude of mutual distrust displayed by women who were married to brothers. Under the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, such sisters-in-law were forced to share a common residence, with all the tensions that this implies. These affinal relatives usually call each other by the special term *maidomo*, the literal meaning of which is "faces woman." It is essential to understand that this is a conventional reciprocal term for coresident sisters-in-law, and is not merely an expletive used in anger or during a flash of hate.[12]

[11] Titiev, 1949, p. 16. Mountcastle (1938, p. 140) described how older women comfort a recent bride and keep watch to prevent her from running away or injuring herself.

[12] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 133, and Titiev, 1949, pp. 9–11. The latter contains the texts of songs rendered by wives who are unhappy because they are mistreated by the husband's family, disregarded by a father-in-law, or distressed at the news that a husband's brother is about to bring a new bride into the household.

Harvard E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Economic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

I have equated the extended family and the *lofche*, although the latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions between in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* arrangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

other members and, on behalf of the other members, with respect to the community at large. 596

In extended-family arrangements brothers need to be cooperative among themselves and submissive to their father's authority. In the absence of these conditions, the situation is conflict-ridden and the organization highly unstable. Sons often chafe under their father's control but must endure it if they have no land of their own, unless they are willing (and equipped) to give up reservation life.

Unless brothers' wives are close relatives, and sometimes when they are, they are often incompatible. An especially judicious mother-in-law may be able to hold this incompatibility to a minimum, but this requires continual effort on her part and is frequently no more than a delaying action. Young women are generally opposed to being either co-wives of a polygynist or sisters-in-law in the same household. They tend to enter such marriages with reservations and continually exert pressure on their husband to establish his own household. Where this is clearly impossible because of an extreme shortage of land or a recalcitrant paterfamilias, a young husband's position often becomes intolerable. Under these conditions the husband might desert his wife, who will then return to her own parent's house. 596 609 [595] [586]

When in-married women are real or classificatory sisters, the strain is not as great. Real sisters have long been conditioned to work together, and lineage sisters have at least a long-established relationship and mutual interests to fall back on. According to informants, a significant characteristic which symbolizes the greater harmony between in-married women who are closely related is their willingness to care for and even suckle each other's children. The fact that a woman calls her own child by a very special term, *moyolpuñen* (*moyo*, breast; *puñen*, child) seems to heighten the sense of unity among these in-married women. The other side of this is that women in extended-family households (and even more so among co-wives in a polygynous household) frequently complain that they often have to care for the other women's children if they are occupied elsewhere. [601] [595]

When the women are real or classificatory sisters and are also members of their mother-in-law's lineage, as would be the case if marriage had been contracted matrilaterally, there is less friction on the intergenerational level. This is especially noticeable in the mother–daughter-in-law relationship. Since they are kinswomen, even though not necessarily in a close degree of relationship, there is already a set of 596 606

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

596 [606] rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended family. For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime [603] take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her [606] annoyance. Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at this time. If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible [607] relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

[609] On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are restive under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

[594] Within three generations a family may change from an elementary unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need 596 not be. One result of the establishment of an extended family is the 413 retention of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup, [613] the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

(grown children in one case and husband and children in the other) remained away from the ceremony. They were not invited and they seemed not to wish to participate. A Lafkn's children are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The Lafkn was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into ayllalitus and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

When feelings are especially strained between persons, even though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over another. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family households between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential